

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 171615Z MAR 76

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2982

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0057

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 17, 1976
(SALT TWO-938)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 17, 1976.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, MARCH 17, 1976

AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE PREPARATION OF THE JOINT
DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IS TO AGREE UPON THE FORMULA-
TIONS OF ARTICLE XVII, PARA. 2, CONCERNING THE FUNCTIONS
OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

AS YOU KNOW, A NUMBER OF THE PROVISIONS OF PARA-
GRAPH 2 OF THAT ARTICLE HAVE BEEN AGREED UPON.

GUIDED BY THE DESIRE TO AGREE UPON ARTICLE XVII IN
ITS ENTIRETY WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR THE CONSIDERATIONS ON
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ARTICLE XVII, SUBPAR.2(B), EXPRESSED IN THE COURSE OF

NEGOTIATIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION MADE THE PROPOSAL THAT IT INCLUDE A PROVISION FOR DIRECTING INQUIREIES, AS APPROPRIATE, AND FOR PROVIDING INFORMATION ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, INCLUDING BY WAY OF REPLY TO THESE INQUIRIES, THAT EITHER SIDE CONSIDERS NECESSARY TO ENSURE CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED.

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF REACHING AGREEMENT UPON ARTICLEXVII, PAR.2, OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE, TOO, IS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR SUBPAR. (E), ON AGREEING, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SCC, UPON PROCEDURES FOR THE REMOVAL OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FROM THE AGGREGATE NUMBERS WHEN THEY OTHERWISE CEASE TO BE SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IN ADDITION, IT WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE CONTENT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT TO USE THE TERM "OFFENSIVE IN ARTICLE XVII, SUBPAR.2(G).

AT THE MARCH 2, 1976 MEETING IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE DRAFT NOT PROVIDE FOR THE SIDES TO FURNISH INFORMATION ON THEIR PLANNED FUTURE FORCES OR TO GIVE PRIOR NOTIFICATION ON ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN. FOR THE REASONS IT PRESENTED EARLIER, THE USSR DELEGATION EXPRESSES ITS AGREEMTN WITH THIS CONSIDERATION.

THE U.S. DELEGATION EXPRESSED ITS READINESS TO OMIT THE BRACKETED SUBPARAGRAPHS "A" AND "I" OF THE U.S. VERSION OF PARAGRAPH 29 OF ARTICLE XVII, CONCERNING WHICH WE ALSO ENGAGED IN AN EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AND TO ELIMINATE IN SUBPARAGRAPH (B) THE PROVISION ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION AND THE REFERENCE TO DATES.

THUS, THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVII, PAR. 2, WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN AGREED UPON, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AFOREMENTIONED PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE, AND THE MODIFICATIONS IN THE U.S. VERSION, IN THEIR TOTALITY, PROVIDE A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION, ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS, TO THE QUESTION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE SCC; THIS OPENS THE WAY TO REACHING AGREEMENT UPON ARTICLE XVII IN ITS SECRET

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ENTIRETY.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE SOVIET SIDE FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT THE DELEGATIONS FACE THE TASK OF WORKING OUT A JOINT TEXT OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WHICH MUST BE WHOLLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, WHICH DETERMINED THE

BASIC PARAMETERS AND THE CONTENT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

II

THE U.S. DELEGATIONS'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 5, 1976 TOUCHED UPON THE QUESTION OF TEST RANGES IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE VII OF THE JOINT DRAFT, AGREED UPON AT THE LEVEL OF DELEGATIONS.

IN THE COURSE OF WORK ON THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BOTH SIDES HAVE REPEATEDLY REAFFIRMED THE MOST IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, USING NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE SIDES.

THIS PRINCIPLE IS RECORDED IN THE AGREED PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI OF THE JOINT DRAFT. IT IS OF ALL-ENCOMPASSING IMPORTANCE, AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION PROVIDES THE SIDES WITH ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH ALL THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. AND THIS, OF COURSE, ALSO FULLY APPLIES TO THE TEST RANGES MENTIONED IN SUBPAR.2(B) OF THE AGREED ARTICLE VII.

IT IS PRECISELY COMPLIANCE BY THE SIDES WITH THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT THAT IS SUBJECT TO VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. IF, HOWEVER, IT IS NOT COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, THAT IS ADVANCED AS THE SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION, BUT INFORMATION CONCERNING WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO REACH AGREEMENT, AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO REPORT CHANGES, IF ANY, THEN CERTAIN ASPECTS EMERGE WHICH ARE INCONSISTENT WITH THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING. THIS SORT OF AN APPROACH NOT ONLY IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE

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OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, ADOPTED BY THE SIDES IN CONNECTION WITH THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, BUT IN FACT RUNS COUNTER TO THAT PRINCIPLE. IT IS CLEAR, THEREFORE, THAT SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD IN NO WAY MEET THE TASKS AND PURPOSE OF THE DRAFT BEING WORKED OUT.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF IMPLEMENTING THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ALSO SHOWS THAT THE SIDES HAD NOT FELT THE NEED TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION REGARDING THE AREAS WHERE THE TEST RANGES WERE LOCATED. THEREFORE, THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR RAISING SUCH AN ISSUE IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEW AGREEMENT, WHEN THE SIDES HAVE ALREADY ACQUIRED LONG EXPERIENCE IN USING NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION, IN PARTICULAR WITH RESPECT TO ICBM TEST RANGES. THE DATA NECESSARY FOR CARRYING OUT VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PERTINENT OBLIGATIONS CAN BE OBTAINED BY THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION OF THE SIDES.

EVEN IF THE SIDES WERE SUDDENTLY TO PERCEIVE SOME SORT OF AMBIGUITIES, FOR EXAMPLE, WITH RESPECT TO ICBM TEST RANGES, THESE COULD BE APPROPRIATELY CONSIDERED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SCC IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVII, PAR.2.

BASED ON THIS, THE USSR DELEGATION SEES NO NEED FOR AN AGREED STATEMENT REGARDING THE AREAS WHERE THE ICBM
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TEST RANGES OF THE SIES ARE LOCATED, IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE VII OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

III

AT THE FEBRUARY 3, 1976 MEETING THE USSR DELEGATION, IN THE INTEREST OF MAKING PROGRESS IN WORKING OUT THE SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, TABLED NEW WORDING FOR ARTICLE IV, PAR.4, REGARDING THE LIMITATION ON INCREASING THE ORIGINAL VOLUME OF CIBM SILO LAUNCHERS. AT THAT SAME TIME THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSED THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECT A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORD "ORIGINAL", AS USED IN ARTICLE IV, PAR. 4.

SUBSEQUENTLY THIS ENTIRE ISSUE WAS REFERRED TO THE WORKING GROUP. AS A RESULT OF THE USEFUL WORK ACCOMPLISHED, IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE SIDES HAVE COINCIDING VIEWS ON THE RELEVANT FORMULATIONS; THIS IS ALSO EVIDENT FROM TODAY'S STATEMENT OF THE U.S. DELEGATION.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER THE TEXTS OF ARTICLE IV, PAR. 4, AND OF THE AGREED STATEMENT AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING THERETO, AS HAVING BEEN AGREED IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING.

"BEGIN BRACKETS SEMENOV HANDED OVER THE TEXT WITHOUT READING; TRANSLATION ATTACHED. "END BRACKETS".

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE FORMULATIONS RELATING TO ARTICLE IV, PAR.4, IS OF SUBSTANTIAL IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF WORKING OUT THE PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT DRAFT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES.

IN THIS CONNECTION, OF COURSE, WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT DURING THE FINAL CONFORMING OF THE TEXTS OF THE DRAFT THE SIDES MAY INTRODUCE EDITORIAL CHANGES AND CORRECTIONS WHICH DO NOT AFFECT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE AGREED FORMULATIONS.

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OFFICIAL TRANSLATION

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ARTICLE IV, PAR. 4

THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS NOT TO INCREASE THE ORIGINAL INTERNAL VOLUME OF AN ICBM SILO LAUNCHER BY MORE THAN 32 PERCENT. WITHIN THE LIMIT EACH PARTY SHALL BE FREE TO DETERMINE WHETHER SUCH AN INCREASE WILL BE MADE THROUGH AN INCREASE IN THE ORIGINAL INTERNAL

DIAMETER OR IN THE ORIGINAL DEPTH OF AN ICBM SILO LAUNCHER,
OR IN BOTH THESE DIMENSIONS.

AGREED STATEMENT

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE WORD "ORIGINAL" IN
PARAGRAPH 4 OF ARTICLE IV REFERS TO THE INTERNAL DIMENSIONS
OF AN ICBM SILO LAUNCHER, INCLUDING ITS INTERNAL VOLUME,
AS OF MAY 26, 1972, OR THE DATE ON WHICH SUCH LAUNCHER
BECOMES OPERATIONAL, WHICHEVER IS LATER.

COMMON UNDERSTANDING

THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 4 OF
ARTICLE IV AND IN THE AGREED STATEMENT THERETO MEAN THAT THE
ORIGINAL INTERNAL DIAMETER OR THE ORIGINAL DEPTH OF AN
ICBM SILO LAUNCHER MAY NOT BE INCREASED BY AN AMOUNT
GREATER THAN THAT WHICH WOULD RESULT IN AN INCREASE IN
THE ORIGINAL INTERNAL VOLUME OF THE ICBM SILO LAUNCHER
BY 32 PERCENT SOLELY THROUGH AN INCREASE IN ONE OF THESE
DIMENSIONS.

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